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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 27 November 1990, at 4.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. PICKERING	(United States of America)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Mr. TÖRNUDD
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ALFI
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Kuwait to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt and Saudi Arabia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abdul Ghaffar (Bahrain), Mr. Moussa (Egypt) and Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Qatar in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Ni'Mah (Qatar) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The first speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me pleasure, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council and to wish you good fortune and success.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation to your predecessor, Sir David Hannay, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for his presidency during the previous month, and for the outstanding role he played during the period of his presidency.

You will undoubtedly appreciate the pain we Arabs feel when we stand here detailing the crimes that are being committed by an Arab régime, condemning that régime and charging it with full responsibility before the highest tribune of international security in the world for its invasion of a sister Arab country, its trampling of all values, transgression against traditions, violation of laws, spilling blood and usurpation of the rights of people.

Throughout their past - and you are all well versed in history - Arabs and Muslims could, even during the darkest epochs of their history, boast of traits of which they were proud, traits they considered to be the backbone of their moral constitution and the solid foundation of their social structure.

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(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

They used to take pride in protecting the weak. They upheld constancy for its own sake. They considered the protection of the war-prisoner, the neighbour, and the kindred a duty that must be defended by all possible means. Emphasizing these traits has filled our literary history since the pre-Islamic period. Then came the heavenly message of Islam to purify it and regulate it within the Islamic code of conduct.

Throughout our history as Arabs and Muslims we have never taken pride in despotic rulers nor glorified commanders of armies who were bloodthirsty and who legitimized pillage and plunder; their likes were few and they were condemned and made an example of by Arab and Muslim history. Their history is a primary source of study so that conduct will be an example for children to learn about the evil consequences that follow when such people proliferate.

Fair-minded non-Muslim historians have never denied that the first rule of Islamic behaviour was justice, the protection of kinsmen and a prohibition on committing injustices, for as God Almighty says in the Holy Koran:

"God commands justice, the doing
Of good, and liberality to kith
And kin, and He forbids
All shameful deeds, and injustice
And rebellion: He instructs you,
That ye may receive admonition." (The Holy Koran, XVI:90)

Thus, how do we judge the conduct of the Iraqi régime according to these standards, in Kuwait, against the Kuwaiti, the Arab Muslim people, and against non-Kuwaitis in Kuwait! It was recorded of the Prophet Mohammed, may God's prayer and His greetings be upon him, that he said:

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

"Whoever believeth in God and the day of judgement should not harm his neighbour; whoever believeth in God and the day of judgement should be hospitable to his guest, and whoever believeth in God and the day of judgement should say good things or keep silent."

Where is this high moral instruction in the attitude of the Iraqi régime towards its neighbour, the State of Kuwait, or in the behaviour of the Iraqi régime towards the thousands of foreigners who are the country's guests, whom it transformed into prisoners and rendered them hostages, pushing them unarmed into the line of fire; where is the Iraqi régime standing from the standpoint of the simplest of Islamic laws and the basics of Islamic behaviour; and where is it from the standpoint of Arab gallantry on which the Arabs built the foundation of their past glories?

All this is being committed at a time when the Arab nation with all its peoples is at the threshold of the twenty-first century looking forward to giving future generations their role in making history, raising the banner of civilization, and establishing the state of knowledge, progress and faith on the firm basis of morality and of values.

Those painful scenes which members have seen this morning and the injustice we have been watching is taking place across the land, as if gallantry and honour have been frozen in their system. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was not a historic conquest, a civilizing expansion, or a constructive act of unification. It was an invasion against all norms. Members today have seen from the scenes of invasion things that chill the human spirit and shame humanity. It makes every Arab feel ashamed and want to reject being historically associated with it.

There is no time in this brief opportunity to detail the kinds of crimes that are being committed, but after the scenes that members have heard and witnessed

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

which the Permanent Representative of the State of Kuwait has, thankfully, shown in statistics, suffice it to say that no one, an Arab or a foreigner, a Saudi or a Kuwaiti, a resident or a visitor, an unemployed person or a worker has been spared from physical and psychological instruments of torture and means of degradation which put to shame even shame itself. The tragedy of the thousands of hostages that is daily on the world stage is part of the sad and shameful story as if the machinery of government in Iraq has become a tool for terror and a means of murder and torture. For example, four Saudi citizens working for an Islamic relief organization, a subsidiary of the Muslim World League, which came to the assistance of those who were dispersed and displaced from Kuwait and who had come to Saudi territory were kidnapped by Iraqi soldiers at a border post while assisting those who were coming in. What they experienced in Iraqi prisons and in interrogation and torture centres, after being assaulted and robbed of all their possessions, could only be perpetrated by gangs of thugs. They were released after they saw in the prisons some of the things members of this Council have heard from the representative of Kuwait this morning. I do not want to go into details of what diplomats and non-diplomats, Saudis and non-Saudis have been subjected to, practices which deprive the Iraqi régime of any position in the community of civilized States.

Those who have recorded the history of Islam have abundantly reported about the justice of Muslims and the fairness of their treatment and their adherence to humanitarian codes towards everyone when they conquer a new country. The history of Islam reports that a Coptic lady in Egypt came to the Caliph, Omar, complaining to him about Amr Ibn Al'Aas, the famous Governor of Egypt at the time, who had confiscated a section of her house to add to a mosque he built, which is currently known as Amr Bin Al'Aas Mosque in Egypt. The Caliph, Omar, wrote to his Governor

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

ordering him to give back to the woman what he took, the Governor carried out the orders; the mosque when completed had uneven lines of construction as a result of protecting the rights of the Coptic woman. Those lines were later straightened. During historical conquests, the Arabs strove to establish the State of civilization and progress on a firm basis of morality, justice and fairness. Their State was not the State of plunder and pillage, nor the State of murder and robbery.

What is the Iraqi régime doing in Kuwait today? The scenes we have seen today make one ashamed, make every Arab and Muslim ashamed; rather they make humanity in the twentieth century ashamed. It is regrettable and sad to hear some calls that aim at appeasing this situation and condoning the crimes to the point of rewarding them. I ask those who advocate this, I ask their consciences, if their countries and people were subjected to what we have witnessed, what would they say?

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

Arabs and Muslims distance themselves from everything you have seen, Mr. President, because it is contrary to everything which their beliefs and religion, and every belief and every religion, stand for. It is against everything which our moral history has stood for. We distance the Iraqi people, people with a glorious past, from responsibility for what is being committed in Kuwait in their name. It is the perpetrators of these acts who will bear the responsibility.

The Arab and Muslim nation, the international community and this Council must shoulder their responsibility to remove injustice from Kuwait, to check the aggressors, return the country - every inch of it - to its people, restore legitimacy to its sanctity, and allow it to stand tall, make those responsible bear the consequences of their actions and safeguard the security of the region and its countries from their waywardness and the dangers of their evil intentions.

Your Council meets this Thursday, Sir, after the Iraqi side has shown no intention of considering the resolutions of the international community or the positions it has taken, and continues to insist on its waywardness by occupying Kuwait. The Council meets in order to take a firm stand, which we hope will set matters right, before matters run out of control. We call upon people with common sense to realize the gravity of what the Iraqi régime is committing in its obduracy, of what does not please God, contradicts every law, and for the consequences of which that régime bears full responsibility.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Saudi Arabia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Ahmet Engin Ansay, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, to whom the Council extended an invitation under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure at the 2959th meeting. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ANSAY: At the outset, Sir, I should like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to address the Security Council on such an important item - "The situation between Iraq and Kuwait".

For almost four months now the State of Kuwait has been under Iraqi occupation. The Islamic world was shocked that this invasion of a State member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference was perpetrated by another State member of that Organization.

Very soon after differences between the two countries surfaced the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Hamid Algabid, addressed to the leaders of both Iraq and Kuwait messages expressing the Organization of the Islamic Conference's deep concern over the increasing tension in relations between Iraq and Kuwait, and urged the leaders to spare no effort to achieve a peaceful negotiated solution.

Being deeply conscious of the grave dangers that this situation entailed for the peace and security of the entire Gulf region, as well as its potentially devastating consequences for the solidarity of the Islamic Ummah, the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference once again, in a public statement issued on 27 July 1990, appealed to the two countries to show wisdom and restraint and to seek by peaceful means a solution to their differences.

Immediately after being apprised of the outbreak of hostilities on 2 August 1990 the Organization of the Islamic Conference, through its Secretary-General, issued another statement, in which Mr. Algabid expressed his grief and sadness over these tragic events, which were a grave threat to the harmony and stability of the region and the peace and security of the entire world. In his statement he recalled the commitment in the charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to refrain, in relations between member

(Mr. Ansay)

States, from the use or threat of use of force against the unity and territorial integrity or political independence of any member State.

On 4 August 1990 the Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, then in session in Cairo for their regular annual meeting, adopted a Special Declaration on the Situation between Iraq and Kuwait (S/21797, annex II) in which it condemned the Iraqi armed aggression against Kuwait and rejected all its consequences; decided not to recognize anything arising therefrom; and demanded that the Iraqi forces be withdrawn immediately from the Kuwaiti territories. It supported the legitimate régime in Kuwait, under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait and Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit. The Conference reaffirmed in no uncertain terms its full support for, and solidarity with, the Emir, the Government and the people of Kuwait.

Alas, despite numerous resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the Iraqi forces continue their occupation of Kuwait - a situation which is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, the charters of all other international organizations and the norms and principles of international law and conduct. The practices perpetrated by the forces of occupation in Kuwait against the defenceless innocent Kuwaiti civilian population constitute a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which is based on the noble principles and teachings of Islam.

Article 3 of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam states:

"In the event of the use of force and in case of armed conflict, it is not permissible to kill non-belligerents such as old men, women and children. The wounded and the sick shall have the right to medical treatment; and prisoners of war shall have the right to be fed, sheltered and clothed. It is

(Mr. Ansay)

prohibited to mutilate dead bodies. It is a duty to exchange prisoners of war and to arrange visits or reunions of the families separated by the circumstances of war.

"It is prohibited to fell trees, to damage crops or livestock, and to destroy the enemy's civilian buildings and installations by shelling, blasting or any other means." (S/21797, p. 201)

Recently the Co-ordination Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held in New York on 1 October 1990, called upon Iraq to cease forthwith its campaign of repression in the occupied Kuwaiti territory and to release immediately all third-country nationals and hostages taken and facilitate their return to their countries of origin in conditions of safety and honour. It also called upon Iraq to abide by the principle of the inviolability of diplomatic and consular premises and accord protection to all diplomatic and consular personnel in Kuwait.

In this connection, article 21 of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam states:

"Taking hostages under any form or for any purpose is expressly forbidden." (ibid., p. 206)

During the same New York Co-ordination Meeting the Islamic Conference once again expressed its full support for, and solidarity with, the Emir, the Government and the people of the State of Kuwait, and affirmed its determination to seek the restoration of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and the legitimate Government of Kuwait, under the leadership of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Emir of Kuwait and Chairman of the Fifth Islamic Summit.

(Mr. Ansay)

During these trying times we hope and pray for wisdom to prevail without further delay. We hope and pray that the current inadmissible situation will give way to the restoration of legitimacy, thereby avoiding the catastrophe this current explosive state of affairs will otherwise certainly cause.

The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Ansay for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Sir, since this is the first time I speak in the Security Council during your term as President, I should like to extend to you our confidence in the exemplary manner and statesmanship with which you have guided the Council's work and to wish you success in your task. I should also like to express our admiration of the excellent performance of your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, during his presidency of the Council last month.

The issue before the Security Council today has to do with one of the consequences of the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, one of the regrettable manifestations of the condemned actions perpetrated by the Iraqi forces as invading forces that occupy the territory of another country and violate the rights of its population as well as the diplomatic immunity of embassies and diplomatic personnel. The fundamental components of any State are its territory, its people and its Government. The Iraqi forces have committed an act of aggression against Kuwati territory and have violated its territorial integrity. They have defied the legitimacy of the Kuwati régime and usurped the responsibility of its Government. They continue to humiliate the people of Kuwait and to eradicate the country's basic features by actions that run counter to the rules of human rights and practices that contravene the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention and the principles of international law.

This morning, we heard moving accounts of the practices of the occupying forces against Kuwaiti civilians and against the infrastructure of Kuwait. We heard of attempts to force Kuwaitis from their homes, their city and their country. I need not dwell on the details of the actions committed against people, houses, banks and stores in Kuwait or on the procedures being carried out to eradicate the national identity of the Kuwaiti people by destroying archaeological landmarks, plundering libraries and historical documents and destroying Kuwait's

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

achievements. The moving accounts given this morning in the Security Council, as well as the statements made here by the Permanent Representative of Kuwait, have all contained examples of such practices. I would refer also to the contents of document S/21694 of 3 September 1990 and to the reports of Amnesty International, as well as the report contained in A/45/693 of 30 October 1990.

In addition to the actions I have mentioned, the occupying forces have relocated Iraqi citizens in Kuwait to take over the businesses and homes of Kuwaitis forced to leave or to flee the country within the framework of a plan to change the demographic composition of the Kuwaiti people.

This morning, we heard the representative of Kuwait tell us about the plundering of Kuwaiti population records by the occupying authorities and the destruction of the Kuwaiti civil population register in an attempt to sow confusion and make it difficult for the legitimate Kuwaiti authorities to have a proper knowledge of the events that have taken place since the beginning of the occupation. However, we are reassured to learn that an authenticated copy of the population register of Kuwait will be deposited with the Secretary-General, a document that covers the population registration of Kuwait up to 1 August 1990.

The lessons of history teach us that the era of colonialism and suppression of peoples is over. Occupation, however long it may last, will not withstand forever a people's determination to resist it. The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait will not be an exception to that rule, nor will any other occupation. The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait is rejected not only by the Kuwaiti people but also by all the peoples of the world and by the overwhelming majority of its States, which reject the false principle of historical claims and invasion and the doctrines of aggression under whatever pretext or excuse. I, therefore, join the representative of Kuwait in calling upon the Security Council to adopt the resolutions necessary to safeguard

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

the national identity of the Kuwaiti people and to record all instances of subversion and aggression against that identity until the legitimate Government is returned to power and the fraternal Kuwaiti people are liberated from the yoke of occupation and invasion.

We have stated on earlier occasions that the sole and radical way to ensure respect for the human rights of peoples under occupation is for that occupation to end. That applies to Kuwait as it does to any other occupied territory or country. It is a basic principle of Egyptian foreign policy. In a recent statement, President Hosni Mubarak emphasized that there can be no compromise with regard to principles. He said:

> "We totally reject the present state of occupation and oppression. The only feasible solution is complete Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the return of the legitimate Government of Kuwait."

President Mubarak continued:

> "In the coming difficult weeks, we will spare no effort to reach a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. However, Kuwait must be liberated and the wrongs and injustice against it must be righted."

Mr. ABDUL GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): May I first extend to you, Sir, my most sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish you every success in carrying out your functions.

I should also like to extend my most sincere thanks to Sir David Hannay, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, who conducted the work of the Council last month with an efficiency which deserves our admiration and gratitude.

Since 2 August, Kuwait and its people have experienced the visitation upon them of the ranks of the Iraqi forces who have invaded Kuwait and perpetrated acts of violence against the citizens living peacefully in that country.

The hate complex of the aggressor has become clear. Aggression, pillage, murder and rapine have been in evidence between two neighbouring peoples in total violation of the formal prohibition of the Sharia, the Islamic law which prohibits aggression, injustice and violence.

The horror of the practices perpetrated by the forces of the Iraqi invader on these people has demonstrated that they have lost all reason, that their souls are full of hatred and that harshness has invaded their hearts. These are not qualities of a normal human being.

Since the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, we learn every day of new violations of the human rights of Kuwaiti citizens and citizens of third countries living there who are also being subjected to this violence.

In this respect, the Middle East Watch indicated on 16 November 1990 that there were flagrant violations of human rights. The bulletin was based on detailed information received from hundreds of Kuwaiti and other refugees who were dispatched to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other States. The bulletin of the Middle East Watch showed on the first page that during the second month of the

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

occupation the Iraqi Government allowed its repressive bodies freely to throttle any peaceful manifestations or resistance against the plundering and violence of the Iraqi forces, which started from the very first days of the occupation. The bulletin summarizes the acts perpetrated by Iraq's occupation forces in Kuwait. I might just mention a few:

First, executions without trial. The occupation forces have executed persons accused by the forces of occupation of armed resistance or peaceful protests. The bulletin also mentions that the occupation forces executed approximately 250 people during the first three days of the invasion.

Secondly, the arbitrary breaking into houses by night either in order to seek out suspects or citizens of third countries. Approximately 5,000 people were arrested in this way, including children.

Thirdly, ill-treatment and torture of those arrested, during interrogation. Certain persons were arrested simply because they happened to be relatives of persons whose names appeared on the lists of people who had to be arrested.

Fourthly, the Iraqi authorities have taken over all government hospitals and medical appliances which were then transferred to Iraq.

Fifthly, the invading Iraqi forces have pillaged and plundered private homes and businesses. They have also taken over the teaching equipment in Kuwait University and in government schools.

It is certain that these practices are completely at variance with the norms of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They are also at odds with the principles and precepts of the Islamic Sharia, which is the Islamic law. Islamic jurisprudence considers that the Iraqi invasion and aggression against Kuwait is a crime called jarimatu haraba, which is called by some fagihs the grand larceny because it is accompanied as in the case of the Iraqi

(Mr. Abdul Ghaffar, Bahrain)

invasion by pillage, theft, the taking of human life and rape. The Islamic Sharia is a law which makes it possible for a country that is invaded to repulse the invader either individually or as a group.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bahrain for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Qatar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-NI'MAH (Qatar) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset to extend to you, Sir, my sincere thanks for giving me the opportunity to speak before the Council. Allow me also, Sir, to discharge my pleasant duty of congratulating you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. Your well-known experience and efficiency guarantee the success of our deliberations.

I should also like to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for his excellent conduct of the deliberations of the Council last month.

At this time, the Security Council meets to consider a painful aspect of the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait. I refer to the practices which contravene international law and the Fourth Geneva Convention, as well as the Declaration of Human Rights and the most basic principles of humanity, which continue to be perpetrated by the occupying Iraqi forces against the proud Kuwaiti citizens.

The Permanent Representative of Kuwait has given us the details of these acts, substantiated by physical evidence and by eyewitness accounts. I need not go into a detailed commentary on them because what the Council has seen and heard is the best evidence of the barbarism of the occupation under which the Kuwaiti citizens languish and whose evils cause them untold suffering.

(Mr. Al-Ni'Mah, Qatar)

If occupation and aggression are in themselves criminal acts under international law, the shameful practices of the Iraqi occupation forces in the State of Kuwait are the other side of the coin in connection with this crime. Those practices are in themselves crimes that are condemned by and punishable under international law.

(Mr. Al-Ni'Mah, Qatar)

I am fully confident that this august Council will not confine itself to a strong condemnation of the Iraqi practices which have run counter to the law and to human rights; rather that this Council will reaffirm the responsibility of Iraq for those practices and for reparations as regards the damages incurred by individuals and institutions. The responsibility of Iraq for all such damages is a clear matter in international law. A resolution by the Security Council in that sense will be in full consonance with the relevant norms of international law, because if the forces of a certain country occupy the territory of another country or a part thereof, the actions of those forces and troops are subject to the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

Iraq is a party to the aforementioned Convention. It acceded to the Convention since 1956. Iraq, therefore, is committed to the provisions of that Convention and thus must be held responsible for contravening those provisions.

The State of Kuwait is also a party to the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which it has acceded since 1968. The fact that both Iraq and Kuwait are parties to that Convention makes its applicability to the current situation in Kuwait a matter that need not be proven. I believe I am right in saying that article 2 of the aforementioned Convention is the best proof of this fact, which makes it abundantly clear that all Kuwaitis, natural or juridical persons, are protected under the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention. They enjoy all the rights that would arise from any contravention by the occupation forces of this Convention, whether to their property or their persons. Once the contravention of international law by Iraqi troops has been established, the responsibility of the occupying Power would not be open to debate since the elements of international responsibility are all clearly available in the question we are considering.

(Mr. Al-Ni'Mah, Qatar)

While we look at these inhuman practices perpetrated by the invading brother against sisterly Kuwait, our only objective is the restoration of justice. At this hour, all we want is that right be established against evil and wrongful acts. We want the invading brother to go back to his senses. We want his heart to feel it. We want him to rise above ambitions. We want him to understand the will of the international community, led by this august Council. We want the invader to show faithfulness to the glory and heritage of Iraq - Iraq which has given the world wisdom and logic. This is one of God's blessings to Iraq, which will remain a guiding light, a light that should become a glimpse of hope that would safeguard for Iraq, for its heritage and its soil, the essence of its proud and glorious heritage based on Islam and the age-old civilizations.

Cannot those invaders be inspired by their predecessors, by their ancestors, and be inspired by the life of Islam, which gave justice to the whole world, which gave immortal images that will live throughout history, as opposed to the shameful, painful images that the Council has seen this morning - as if all the palm trees in Iraq, as if all its forests in the north, are calling to the children of Mesopotamia for help. It is time for reason to reign supreme. It is time for us to go on the straight path. It is time to stop the invaders with the adoption of a resolution by this august Council that will bring the senseless back to their senses and implement the international will.

This situation, which runs counter to justice, is the result of the fact that the rulers of Baghdad cannot see the truth. We should make it clear to him. We should make them see the rising of the international sun that is drenching our world in light, to make them see, through the Council's long-awaited resolution, the true nature of the will of justice and peace, to show the momentum that is the march of humanity towards a safe future in order to achieve justice and security for the whole world.

(Mr. Al-Ni'Mah, Qatar)

How painful and hateful it is to see such ingratitude and such denial of the values of tolerant Islam, which enjoins Muslims to protect their neighbours and to protect their brothers and give them help, not invade them. But how things have changed in the minds of the invaders, how they have blinded themselves to the truth, how painful the images are that this Council has seen, what a plight we were pushed into by those tyrants. Where will the salvation of this nation come from? Where will the salvation come when their leaders are not showing the values they should show to their brethren and to their motherland? Can we expect those who have attacked their brothers to do anything good?

As for the people of Kuwait, those who have stayed and those who have gone, I say: in this international support you will find consolation. Great nations are made by great pains. God has blessed the pains of all the Prophets and blessed the pains of Mohammed when he fulfilled his message and when he struggled on his own. The acts of the invaders will be unraveled and good will prevail over evil, and the forces of faith will be victorious.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Qatar for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. TÖRNUDD (Finland): The invasion, occupation and purported annexation of Kuwait constitute particularly clear and flagrant violations of international law. There is no justification for the attempt by Iraq to obliterate one sovereign Member of the United Nations. The illegal occupation must, as the Security Council has frequently stated, be brought to an end.

Issues of aggression and unlawful annexation are not, however, the only issues of legality in this tragedy. Another set of violations relates to acts committed by the occupying authorities against civilians in Kuwait. My delegation does not have access to sources of information of our own, but the reports we have received through international humanitarian agencies and other public sources, as well as from the witnesses whom we heard this morning, are very convincing. We are shocked and dismayed.

Iraq is a party to the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. That Convention, which is fully applicable to the Kuwait crisis, lays down clear and well-recognized rules concerning the humanitarian treatment of the civilian population which finds itself under the control of an occupying Power. There can be no doubt that Iraq is bound by those rules.

The use of physical force against civilians, looting, reprisals, the taking of hostages, destruction of property, collective punishments and the use of civilians to protect military operations or targets are all prohibited by the Fourth Geneva Convention. Hospitals and personnel providing medical services for the population must be allowed to operate normally. Special protection must be given to those particularly vulnerable, such as children under 15 years of age. The occupying Power may not compel protected persons to serve in its armed forces or otherwise

(Mr. Törnudd, Finland)

coerce them to secure enlistment. National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies must be allowed to pursue their humanitarian activity in the occupied territory.

According to reliable reports, many, if not most, of these provisions have been violated by Iraqi military personnel during the occupation. These persons are presumably subject to military discipline and under the command of professional officers who have received the appropriate training in the laws of war. I note in this connection that article 146 of the Fourth Geneva Convention provides that each contracting party has the obligation to search and bring before its courts persons suspected of having committed the kinds of violations to which I have referred. Still, the main principle at issue here is, as the Convention itself states in article 29, that:

> "The Party to the conflict in whose hands protected persons may be, is responsible for the treatment accorded to them by its agents, irrespective of any individual responsibility which may be incurred." (Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 (United Nations Treaty Series, vol. 75, No. 973, art. 29))

Iraqi military personnel already bear an accumulated burden of responsibility for unlawful acts committed against civilians in occupied Kuwait. We expect that Iraq will abide by these international obligations.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers for this meeting. The next meeting of the Security Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will be fixed in consultation with the members of the Council.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 28 November 1990, at 4.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. PICKERING	(United States of America)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Ms. RASI
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. LOZINSKY
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ALFI
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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90-61471/A 3462V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS IRAN-IRAQ MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP (S/21960)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Iraq in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Al-Anbari (Iraq) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General (S/21960) on the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) for the period 22 September 1990 to 20 November 1990.

Members of the Council also have before them the text of a draft resolution, which is contained in document S/21970 and has been prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

(The President)

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 676 (1990).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Before adjourning the meeting, I should like to announce that the Security Council will resume its consideration of the item "The situation between Iraq and Kuwait" in a few minutes.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.2962
28 November 1990

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 28 November 1990, at 5.30 p.m.

President:	Mr. PICKERING	(United States of America)
Members:	Canada	Mr. FORTIER
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	Colombia	Mrs. CASTAÑO
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. ANET
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ethiopia	Mr. TADESSE
	Finland	Ms. RASI
	France	Mr. BLANC
	Malaysia	Mr. RAZALI
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. LOZINSKY
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ALFI
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA

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90-61477/A 3475V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the previous meetings on this item, I invite the representative of Kuwait to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Bahrain, Egypt, Qatar and Saudi Arabia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Abdul Ghaffar (Bahrain), Mr. Moussa (Egypt), Mr. Al-Ni'Mah (Qatar) and Mr. Shihabi (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United Arab Emirates in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mohiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran) and Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

(The President)

I should like to inform the Council that Canada, Romania and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have joined as sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document S/21966.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The story that we heard in the Council yesterday is a tragic and reprehensible one. An unprovoked act of war by a larger country against its defenceless neighbour has been followed by a sorry litany of murder, brigandage and wanton violence which has brought untold misery to many thousands of individuals.

The Council has repeatedly reminded Iraq in recent weeks of its obligations under international humanitarian law, including the Fourth Geneva Convention. It did so most recently in resolution 674 (1990), adopted on 29 October. Yet the accounts we have heard of the murder and pillage perpetrated by the Iraqi occupation forces in Kuwait show that Iraq has persistently acted with a callous disregard of the Convention. Far from observing its responsibility under article 29 for the treatment of protected persons under its control, Iraq is engaged in a determined campaign to expunge the very identity of the State of Kuwait.

The Iraqis have made life so unbearable that half the indigenous population have left, public and private property has been looted and the Iraqis have even tried to destroy Kuwait's public records. All over Kuwait, Kuwaitis are being replaced by Iraqis. We have reports that Iraqi soldiers have stripped Kuwaitis of all documentary evidence of their nationality: birth certificates, marriage certificates, passports. This amounts to an attempt by Iraq to change the demographic structure of the country it occupies, in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

The basic principle of the Geneva Conventions is that protected persons shall be protected and treated humanely in all circumstances. Contrast this principle

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

with the report of Amnesty International, an organization whose impartiality is widely recognized and which has produced a frightening catalogue of Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait. On 28 September Amnesty International reported:

> "According to eyewitness accounts, boys as young as 15 have been shot in the head and their bodies dumped outside their homes because of their suspected opposition to the Iraqi forces."

On the same day that organization also reported:

> "Doctors who had been working in hospitals in Kuwait in the period following the invasion have told Amnesty International that Iraqi soldiers brought to the hospitals scores of bodies of young men, many of whom had been shot in the head and heart at close range. Iraqi soldiers reportedly forced the doctors to issue death certificates certifying that the victims had died after arrival at the hospitals."

We also have reports of Iraqi atrocities from British nationals in Kuwait. One woman described how on 6 August her maid went outside to empty the rubbish, and on her way back she was seen by Iraqi soldiers, who instructed her to show them where she lived. Near the apartment one pushed her inside the lift - the other stayed outside. The one in the lift pointed a gun at her head and ordered her to strip, and she was raped by both Iraqis. A member of the British Army Liaison Team, now held at one of the strategic sites, told another British subject at the Regency Hotel in Kuwait City that he personally had witnessed the shooting of a family of six Kuwaitis, in the garden of his house, where he was in disguise; he saw the Iraqis line up the six people and shoot them.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Article 32 of the Fourth Geneva Convention specifically prohibits murder and torture. Yet I have here an extract from the diary of a British national in hiding in Kuwait. In early October she wrote:

> "They tell me that in their neighbourhood the Iraqis woke everybody up a few mornings ago by firing in the air. When they looked to see what was happening they saw the Iraqis execute 4 Kuwaitis from that area by shooting them in the head. They had previously been tortured."

I should not like to suggest that all Iraqis have gone along with the violation of human rights in Kuwait, which is clearly the policy of the Government. A number of brave individuals have stood out against the atrocities. On 14 November the Guardian newspaper described how an Iraqi captain who deserted to Turkey said he was unhappy about the invasion of Kuwait

> "because the soldiers are attacking the people and raping the women, and recently I was ordered to kill civilians."

The Independent newspaper reported on 14 November that a soldier from the unit of an Iraqi commander, who had allegedly been executed for looting said that in reality he had been executed for refusing to carry out in full orders that everything be carried away. Iraqi soldiers who had been in Kuwait described to the same newspaper how they had been forced to abduct young girls to be raped by Baathist officers. One soldier alleged he had seen privates ordered to shoot 20 girls who had been raped.

Article 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention designates certain actions as grave breaches. These include: wilful killing, torture or inhumane treatment, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, the taking of hostages, the unlawful confinement of a protected person, and wilfully depriving a protected person of the right to a fair trial. These grave breaches come under the

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

criminal jurisdiction of all the parties to the Conventions and as such have been elevated to the status of international crimes. There is evidence that all these things have happened in Kuwait since 2 August.

The grave breaches of human rights which have been described to the Council are horrifying and show the contempt of the occupying forces for all civilized standards of behaviour.

But, in addition to that, the theft and wilful damage to public and private property in Kuwait is evidence of a systematic campaign to eradicate the previously flourishing business, social and cultural life of Kuwait. We have received numerous reports of private cars being seized at roadblocks and trucks and buses taken away. There is clear evidence of school furniture and books, museum exhibits, traffic signals, street lights, electricity sub-station transformers and many other articles of equipment being stolen by the Iraqi forces and sent back to Iraq. When Kuwaitis are pressed into leaving, they are forced to sign documents ceding all their property to the Iraqi Government.

The principal victims of Iraqi atrocities have of course been the Kuwaitis. But we should not forget the numerous foreigners who have lost their livelihoods as a result of the Iraqi invasion. These range from Indian and Palestinian businessmen and entrepreneurs to Sri Lankan housemaids, whose losses have had a devastating effect on their home economies and whose human tragedy is incalculable. The Iraqis have also abused foreigners in Kuwait in another way. In breach of international law, and in defiance of resolution 664 (1990) of the Council, large numbers have been taken hostage in a bid to dissuade the international community from taking action to restore the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait. These hostages essentially fall into two categories.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

First, there are those who are simply not allowed to leave Iraq and Kuwait. These include citizens of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Canada, as well as the United States and the United Kingdom. Because of the international outcry at this outrage, and in a cynical attempt to manipulate world opinion, the Iraqi authorities have allowed a considerable number of foreign nationals to leave in recent weeks, but many remain.

The second category are those held at strategic sites the Iraqis believe might be the object of military action. These now consist of 359 of my countrymen, 102 Americans and 114 Japanese. We have received a number of reports on conditions at these strategic sites. One reads as follows:

> "There is defective and unhygienic sanitation for which the 'hosts' refuse to provide cleaning materials. Food is poor to inedible, prepared in filthy and vermin-infested areas, resulting in chronic stomach upsets, diarrhoea and weight loss, which the weekly doctor dismisses as psychological. The accommodation is situated close to a generating plant and toxic waste burn-off towers where polluted air causes throat and chest problems".

Conditions have been little better for the diplomats in Kuwait who have defied the illegal Iraqi attempt to close down their embassies by such tactics as cutting off their water and electricity supplies. Many diplomats have had to leave, but I should like to pay a tribute to my colleague Michael Weston and his staff, who continue to hold out in the British Embassy in Kuwait. I should also like to commend the staff of the embassies of the United States, Bahrain and Oman, who remain at their posts despite the appalling conditions imposed on them by the Iraqi occupying forces.

There are few countries in the world whose citizens have not suffered directly or indirectly from the violent and illegal behaviour of the Iraqi occupying forces

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

in Kuwait. There is no country that recognizes the Iraqi claim to have annexed Kuwait. The poignant and shocking accounts given to the Council in the last two days emphasize why we cannot in honour turn our backs on the problem of Kuwait.

Iraq's policy is to create new facts: in essence the disappearance of Kuwait and the removal of its citizens. Each day they advance further down that road. One is put in mind of the description by the Roman historian Tacitus of the Roman invasion of Britain, when he said: "They make a wilderness and they call it peace". That could serve as the shameful motto of the Iraqi armed forces. And they must not be allowed to prevail. It is therefore the duty of the international community to demonstrate to Iraq that aggression does not pay, and to bring the occupation to an end as quickly as possible in conformity with the resolutions of the Council.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): Yesterday in this Chamber we heard shocking testimony which confirmed the reality and the magnitude of the human rights violations committed by the Iraqi occupation forces in Kuwait. The concrete examples reported to us provide devastating evidence against the occupying party. Such cruel treatment, which we condemn most strongly, is even more revolting when the victims belong, as was reported yesterday, to particularly vulnerable categories of people.

Today Kuwait is a country under foreign occupation. The provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention therefore fully apply. We demand that Iraq, a party to that instrument, abide scrupulously by its obligations under the terms of the Convention.

Finally, the international community should mobilize to help preserve the national identity of Kuwait, now threatened with systematic destruction by the occupier.

(Mr. Blanc, France)

The draft resolution before the Council reflects these points and, for our part, we are prepared to support it.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your diplomatic experience will greatly assist us in arriving at the desired positive results of the Security Council's meetings.

I am pleased to commend the efforts exerted by your predecessor, Sir David Hannay, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, during his presidency of the Council in October.

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

The Security Council meets today to discuss one of the aspects of the multifaceted crisis which has been created by Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. I speak of the most horrendous and abhorrent facet of the crisis, namely that which directly affects the human being, who is the victim. As mentioned by the Permanent Representative of Kuwait, and by the witnesses who spoke in the earlier meeting, the crimes perpetrated by the Iraqi occupation army in Kuwait cause revulsion and grave concern at the serious deterioration of the condition of the Kuwaitis and the foreign residents of Kuwait.

No Arab can feel anything but shame at the practices and conduct of the Iraqi regime, which has stabbed in the heart every Arab value, moral principle and concept. This generation of ours which has grown up within the framework of broad Arab aspirations and hopes for unity, freedom, progress and stability is indeed fully aware of the magnitude of the Iraqi regime's betrayal of those hopes and aspirations.

The arbitrary Iraqi practices in Kuwait and the violations of human rights have caused more than one third of the Kuwaiti people to leave their country in order to escape the tyranny of occupation. In addition to this, there has been the loss of livelihood which has caused the departure from Kuwait of hundreds of thousands of Arab and foreign workers who left behind the fruits of their labour over years and years of hard work. In addition to their personal and family tragedies, as they emigrate without any of their possessions, this displacement has also caused grave difficulties for their countries in absorbing them and providing new means of livelihood for them. High on the list of those emigrants have been Arabs.

In the light of the unanimous international condemnation of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and rejection of the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait, Iraq is considered under

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

international law to be the occupying Power of Kuwait, and this leads to the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The Fourth Geneva Convention can be summed up as containing the protection of three basic categories: the inhabitants, the possessions and the institutions. In reviewing the practices of the occupying Iraqi authorities, we find that they have grossly breached and continue to breach the provisions relating to all three categories. This has been proved by the media and by the displaced persons who have fled Kuwait - Kuwaitis or others who have had to flee as a result of the brutality of occupation.

Article 147 of the Convention enumerates the graves breaches which may be committed by the occupying Power, such as wilful killing, torture, inhumane treatment and the compelling of a protected person to serve in the armed forces of a hostile Power. Article 146 stipulates that the High Contracting Parties to the Convention shall enact any legislation necessary to provide effective penal sanctions for persons committing such breaches, to search for such persons and hand them over to another High Contracting Party.

It is clear that many of the civilians and military members of the Iraqi occupying forces have indeed committed such grave breaches. Therefore, Article 146 applies to those persons. Indeed, it must be applied to them. In this connection, we hold the Iraqi civilian and military authorities responsible for the breaches and crimes which are being committed in Kuwait. We believe that it is necessary for the Iraqi authorities to realize that they are directly responsible for those breaches.

What has taken place in Kuwait and what has happened to Kuwait has grave consequences, not only for the region, but also for international peace and

(Mr. Al-Shaali, United Arab Emirates)

security as a whole. The international reaction which was clearly manifested at an early stage by the Security Council in its numerous resolutions, as well as in the statements by heads of delegations at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, underscores the magnitude of the crisis that resulted from the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

However, the most dangerous lesson to be drawn from this problem lies in the possibility of threatening peace and security in the world as a result of the tyranny of an individual over the fate of any country. Therefore, it is the international community's collective responsibility to prevent the emergence of such situations which could lead to a state of total international chaos.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Arab Emirates for the kind words he addressed to me.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): Mr. President, at this critical juncture, when the whole international community is watching for this body to discharge its mandate with regard to the situation in the Persian Gulf, I should like to express my hope that the proceedings of the Security Council help to achieve peace and security in the Persian Gulf area.

For almost four months the people of Kuwait have been suffering as a result of the invasion of their country by Iraq. Since the first day of the invasion there have been calls by the international community and by many countries for the termination of the occupation and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait, but these calls have not been heeded by Iraq.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Unfortunately, as in every case of occupation, the civilians or the people under foreign occupation suffer the most, and even their homes are no longer safe sanctuaries. In fact, the violation of the rights of people begins with the initiation of aggression and the occupation of a country.

Being conscious of the consequences of the occupation and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq and being concerned at the suffering of the Muslim people of Kuwait, the Islamic Republic of Iran has done its best to alleviate the sufferings of the Kuwaiti people.

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

As a neighbouring country and being aware of the composition of the population of Kuwait, which consists of different nationalities including Iranians, the Islamic Republic of Iran has been genuinely disturbed about the fate of those people. Besides facilitating the departure of thousands of foreign nationals from Kuwait through our territory, we have received about 60,000 Iranians who returned to Iran after the invasion of Kuwait.

The position of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the current crisis in the Persian Gulf is well known. The Islamic Republic of Iran was the first country in the region to condemn the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and to call for an immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. It is our principled position that respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent States must be the basis for maintaining peace and security. The elaboration of these positions has been the centre of our discussions with the countries of the region, including Iraq.

Since the outbreak of the hostilities, in our high-level contacts with Iraq and other States in the Persian Gulf region, we have stated that the only way to achieve peace and the return of normalcy to the region is through the total withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. We have declared that when this important step is taken, the countries of the region can play an important role in maintaining security in the Persian Gulf area through regional arrangements and without foreign interference. Unfortunately, the invasion and continued occupation of Kuwait by Iraq has provided a pretext for foreign forces to expand their presence in the region.

Bearing in mind the gravity of the situation, the Islamic Republic of Iran is convinced that the only possible means of establishing peace and tranquillity in our area is through the implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions in

(Mr. Kharrazi, Islamic Republic of Iran)

this regard and the total withdrawal of foreign forces from this sensitive region. We hope that the Iraqi authorities, by fulfilling their international obligations, will adopt the necessary measures to prevent war and destruction, and to end the suffering of the people of the region in general and of the Kuwaiti people in particular.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MOHIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Mr. President, that your birthday should fall in the month of your presidency is a happy coincidence. I congratulate you on both counts. I should also like to congratulate my friend Sir David Hannay on his superb stewardship of our deliberations last month.

I shall be very brief and precise. We have all seen and heard of the sad events in Kuwait. We have been shocked and pained at the distress of the innocent. The harrowing tales of their sufferings have touched every heart. There is no way in which these breaches of human rights can be condoned. There can be no defence of their perpetration. Forceful occupation is wrong. It is our bounden duty to protect all populations.

The draft resolution truly reflects the sentiments of the global community. I appeal to Iraq to respond positively. It is not a question of politics but simply a question of humanity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

(The President)

The United States delegation has listened with great care to the information presented. Let me express sincere appreciation to those individuals who shared their personal knowledge of the misfortunes now afflicting Kuwait and Kuwaitis. Nothing I might now say could in any way add to or detract from their statements.

The record of rape, plunder, torture and murder compiled by Iraqi authorities since their invasion of Kuwait has posed a direct challenge to the purposes for which this Organization was founded. The Iraqi authorities have plunged a peaceful people into the scourge of war, denied the dignity and worth of the human person, destroyed conditions under which justice can be maintained, and eradicated generations of social progress.

From the day that Iraq launched its crime, this Council has condemned Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and adopted measures to restore international peace and security. As we were told today, Iraq's crime is deepening. The 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, drafted by the same generation of statesmen who founded our Organization, places specific obligations on Iraqi officials. As invited by resolution 674 (1990), the United States Government has submitted, as a document of the Security Council, information on grave breaches of that Convention.

Relying on information in the United States submission, let me report some of the grave breaches committed by Iraqi authorities.

Wilful killing: At the end of August the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities condemned the Iraqi Government after studying reliable reports of mass extrajudicial executions. In September, there were numerous executions of Kuwaiti youths for suspected involvement with the resistance, and of medical workers. Early in October a report from Amnesty International alleged that scores of people had been hanged on the

(The President)

grounds of Kuwait University. On 12 October, which was a busy day for Iraqi authorities, six youngsters were hanged for distributing leaflets; four people were shot for the possession of a camera and a photocopy machine; a family of seven was shot for possessing a United States passport, not their own; a manager of a food shop was shot for not displaying a photo of Saddam Hussein; and two boys were executed before the eyes of their parents.

Torture: Amnesty International has reported that Iraqi methods of torture have included rape, electric-shock treatment, beatings, the breaking of limbs, and mock executions. In one case, Iraqi authorities beat a prisoner until he was unconscious and, on his regaining consciousness, kicked him and applied electric shocks until he lost consciousness again. This treatment was repeated, each time he awakened, for four days. A man claiming to have been in the Kuwaiti resistance reported conditions in a place of detention outside Basra. Inmates were fed bread and water only. During interrogation they were hung upside down. Iraqi soldiers raped them, pulled out their fingernails, chopped off pieces of their fingers and hands, and burned them with hot irons.

Wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury: By mid-September over 500 patients had been turned out of hospitals and other public-care institutions. Crucial equipment had been confiscated, including dialysis machines, incubators, surgical theatres, X-ray machines, laboratory equipment, laser equipment, and medications. As we have heard, many patients have died for lack of care.

(The President)

Iraqi authorities have evicted Kuwaitis from their homes and put in their place Iraqis.

Iraq has also committed numerous grave breaches under the categories of unlawful deportation or transfer of a protected person, unlawful confinement of a protected person and taking of hostages, with hundreds held to this day at military, industrial and scientific sites.

The plunder of Kuwait is now far beyond our worst fears: hospitals, mosques, schools, factories, port facilities, industrial complexes, stores, private residences and even amusement parks have been looted. Anything that could be moved has been stolen. Much of what was left behind has been destroyed.

The only way to end these grave breaches is to end Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. The Iraqi crime is not simply against the people of Kuwait. Iraq holds foreign nationals hostage. Its aggression has wreaked havoc on the economies of many countries. Iraqi intransigence mocks the hopes of the world community for a better future.

Underlying these horrifying Iraqi crimes is a declared policy which is just as unacceptable and abhorrent as the acts it has engendered: to eradicate the sovereign and independent State of Kuwait. The dimensions of such a policy are hard to grasp in a civilized world. We are pained that Iraqi authorities have stopped at no tactic, no matter how barbaric, to accomplish this end.

Anyone who heard the information shared with us here yesterday must inevitably be revolted. What kind of policy does Iraq have, to destroy so much and leave in its place only evil and misery? Iraqi policy means instituting a régime of terror, forcing out the population, sending Iraqi squatters to take their places, and taking hostages. Certainly none of the hospitals, schools or other public facilities in Kuwait represented any threat to Iraq. Like the violations of human

(The President)

beings perpetrated by Iraqi forces, their destruction has but one sinister purpose: the destruction of the Kuwaiti people, Kuwaiti society and the State of Kuwait.

Iraq's policy must fail. As Members of the United Nations we are all bound by our Charter obligations to oppose Iraq's policy, accomplish the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and to obtain the re-establishment of legitimate Kuwaiti authority. May that day come shortly.

International peace and security have yet to be restored, despite the work of this Council. My Government is confident that this Council, in line with the careful and patient decisions it has taken since the crisis began on 2 August, retains its determination to take effective measures to suppress the Iraqi aggression and to reaffirm the principles on which a safe, secure and prosperous world must rest.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Canada, China, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Malaysia, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 677 (1990).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MUNTEANU (Romania): Since this is the first time my delegation has spoken at a formal meeting of the Council, let me join the other speakers in expressing pleasure at seeing you, Sir, a distinguished and highly experienced diplomat, assuming the presidency of the Security Council for the current month. You have brought with you to the presidency of this lofty body not only a vast amount of diplomatic knowledge and skill but also the democratic principles and the example of the United States of America, a friendly country that we so much admire and respect. I wish you every success in fulfilling your important mandate during this historic period of activity of the Council.

We are also very grateful to Sir David Hannay for the exceptional manner in which he conducted the business of this Council last month.

My country has had occasion many times to state its positions on the item on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, and Romania has supported the adoption of all the resolutions of the Security Council on this issue. Today we have been invited to pronounce ourselves on a particular aspect of the item - namely, the ongoing attempt by Iraq to alter the demographic composition of the population of Kuwait and to destroy the civil records maintained by the legitimate Government of Kuwait. This is indeed a very serious matter.

We joined in sponsoring the draft resolution contained in document S/21966, fully sharing the ideas reflected therein, and we hope that the Iraqi authorities will implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council without any exception whatsoever.

Romania is very sensitive about the whole subject under discussion. My Government is concerned about the suffering caused to individuals in Kuwait as a result of the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq.

We are grateful to the representative of Kuwait for the very convincing presentation of the position of his country before the Council and for the details

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

he has offered us about the premeditated actions of the Iraqi authorities aimed at stripping Kuwait of its people, changing its demographic composition with the aim of erasing its national identity.

As the occupying Power, Iraq is fully responsible for the behaviour of its forces and authorities, be they civil or military, and for its policies directed against the people of Kuwait under occupation.

Romania is strongly committed to morality and legality in all spheres of domestic and international life. It has made clear in all its statements on the item under consideration that progress cannot be achieved on the overall situation in the area until the present crisis is on the way to a solution in conformity with the resolutions of the Security Council.

It is undeniable that resolutions 660 (1990) and 662 (1990) established the way to settle the crisis by requesting, in the firmest language, the complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait and the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate Government.

The resolution we have adopted today is additional proof that the international community is determined to reject the flagrant violation of international law by Iraq and to offer just and dignified solutions. We express the hope that the resolution just adopted and the significant statements made here will be heard and correctly understood by the Government of Iraq, which will finally prove that it listens to the voice of reason and will choose a course of action leading to the full restoration of peace and legal order in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Romania for the kind words he addressed to me.

The representative of Kuwait has asked to speak, and I call on him.

Mr. ABULHASAN (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the delegation of Kuwait I wish to extend my thanks to all the members of the Council for voting in favour of the draft resolution under consideration.

In so doing, you have reaffirmed that the invading Iraqi régime's practices are null and void in their bid to obliterate Kuwaiti identity. The State of Kuwait exists in its people who remain steadfast on their land as well as those of its people who have been forced to depart. Their existence and their resistance will lead to the total failure of Iraqi actions.

The disks, a sample of which I hold in my hand, will provide additional proof which liberated Kuwait will use in reasserting the identity of the Kuwaitis and of those who resided in Kuwait up to 1 August. These disks with all the names and data they contain will be a guarantee against the sinister designs of Iraq which aim at altering the demographic composition of Kuwait.

Once again, I wish to thank you for your continuing support of our just cause.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.